

Chapter Two

RUSSIA AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE SLAVS, OR THE MYTH OF PANSLAVISM

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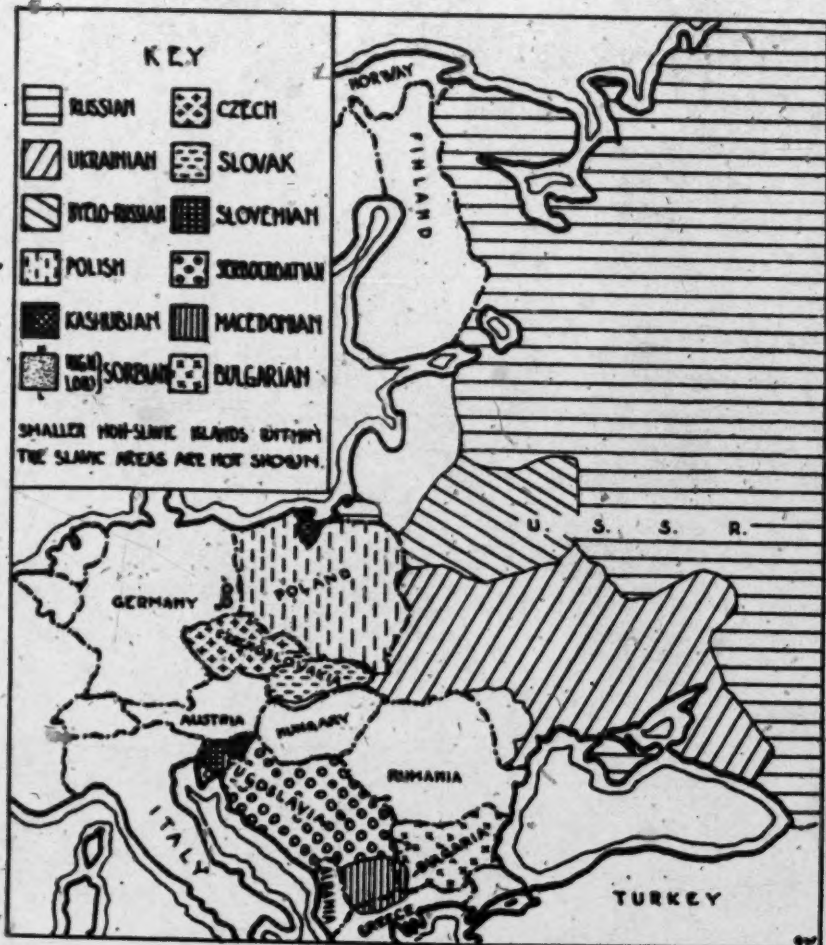
IN a Latin treatise, published in 1826 and devoted to the universal Slav language, the Slovak writer, Herkel, uses the expression, 'verus panslavismus'. He was the father of a word which, taken in a political sense, was destined, after 1848, to ring through the world.

If the word was new, what it denoted was old. The notion of Slav solidarity, implying a more or less organic plan for union among Slavs, progressed for three centuries along the paths of philology and literature. It was originated by a poet, the Ragusan Ivan Gondoulich (1588-1638), author of *Osman*, an epic poem in the style of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. He formulated the idea of mutual assistance among Slavs, with a view to the redemption of the Turk-oppressed race, by singing the victories of Prince Ladislav, the future Ladislav IV, who routed the infidels on the banks of the Dniestr. It was a hymn of gratitude and hope, offered up by the Catholic Slavs of the Adriatic coasts, and addressed to Poland after her ephemeral successes.

Shortly after Gondoulich, a Catholic priest of Croatia, Youraj Krijanich (1618-1683), spoke in burning accents of the 'Slavonic nation'; his work, a mixture of linguistics, history and politics, bears traces of exalted intellectual and sentimental emotions, influenced perhaps, in a confused way, by memories of Byzantium. In Krijanich is shown, for the first time, a clear consciousness, developed beyond the limits of a poetic formula, of the unity of the Slavonic race. Turning no longer towards Poland, but towards Russia, he had a prophetic conception of that country's rôle as a consolidating factor for Slav energies. Krijanich, a Croat, a Papist and a Russophile, expressed himself in a strange dialect—a mixture of Croatian, Russian, and Paleoslav—in the hope of creating an idiom of intellectual solidarity for use among all Slavs, whom he called 'our people'. The result is that we are uncertain whether to class him with Russian or with Croatian literature. Whereas Gondoulich saw

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APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVIC
LANGUAGES IN PRESENT-DAY EUROPE

MAP PREPARED BY G. WEDGECHE

[facing p. 1.]

DISTRIBUTION, SUBDIVISIONS

198 AT THE PRESENT TIME the Slavic world comprises thirteen languages,
162 each with a distinct literary standard. In the usual classification they are distributed into three groups—Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic.

Eastern Slavs. (1) RUSSIAN (Great-Russian) is spoken as a native language by the preponderant majority (73 per cent) in the Russian SFSR and by minor groups in the other Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moreover, being the principal cultural and state language of the USSR, it is employed as a second tongue in nearly all parts of the Soviet Union that have non-Russian native populations. The study of Russian is promoted on a vast scale in the school programs of all, especially Slavic, states within the Soviet sphere of influence; the official Soviet phraseology labels Russian as "the future world language of Socialism." (2) UKRAINIAN (Little-Russian, Ruthenian) is the native language of the vast majority in the Ukrainian SSR and of minor groups in the RSFSR and some other Republics of the Soviet Union. Outside the USSR, there is a compact Ukrainian minority in Northeastern Slovakia. (3) BYELO-RUSSIAN (White-Russian, White-Ruthenian) is the major language of the Byelo-Russian SSR. According to official Soviet estimates, at the start of the Second World War there were in the Eastern Hemisphere some 99 million native speakers of Russian, over 36 million of Ukrainian, and up to 8 million of Byelo-Russian.

Western Slavs. (4) POLISH is the native tongue of the overwhelming majority of the present population of Poland, of 100,000 Poles in the Těšín district of Czechoslovakia, and of a vanishing minority in those parts of pre-War Poland incorporated into the USSR; in all, at least 21 million speak Polish in the Eastern Hemisphere. (5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some

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200,000 people on the left bank of the Lower Vistula. To the northwest, away from this compact Kashubian area (in the Stolp district), survive the last few families that still know SLOVINCIAN, an archaic variant of Kashubian. These are the remnants of the POMORANIAN group which in the early Middle Ages extended from the Lower Vistula to the Lower Oder and was later Germanized. The Pomoranian group together with Polish belongs to the larger unit of the so-called LEKHITIC languages, which also includes POLABIAN, the former language of the Elbe (Laba) area. The last remnant of Polabian on the left bank of the lower Elbe (Dravāno-Polabian) died out toward the middle of the eighteenth century, but is known through a few vocabulary lists and short texts recorded about 1700. The other extinct Lekhitic languages are known only from isolated words and proper names, mostly toponymic. The Kashubs were alternately under Polish and German rule and thus were subjected both to a heavy Germanization and to a strong influence of the closely related Polish language. At the present time Kashubian is treated as a regional vernacular, and its cultural role is limited to a few folk publications, plays, radio programs, and social gatherings. (6) and (7) LOW and HIGH SORBIAN (Lusatian, Lower and Upper Wendish) are spoken by some 150,000 people on the Upper Spree. Surrounded by German, they form two neighboring linguistic islets, the northern one being Low Lusatia (Dolna Łužica) in Prussia and the adjacent part of Saxony with its center at Kottbus (Chošebuz), and the southern one being Upper Lusatia (Hornja Łužica) in Saxony with its center at Bautzen (Budyšin)—the former Protestant and the latter Catholic. Together with the disappearing Eastern Sorbian dialect around Muskau (Mužakow), these are the last remnants of a linguistic group that was quite extensive during the Middle Ages and bordered Polabian on the North, Polish on the East, and Czech on the South, forming a linguistically intermediate zone between these three languages. After the Second World War both Sorbian languages have been, for the first time, introduced into primary and secondary schools of Lusatia. (8) CZECH is, since the postwar transfer of the German minority, almost the only language of the whole western part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1½ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

728 the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over 162 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans 198 with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

197 Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups; the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
 197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina
 and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients
 and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist
 tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern
 literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the
 very late eighteenth century, and in its further development
 oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern
 (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and
 Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth
 century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the
 latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern
 Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century
 after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently con-
 tinued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church
 Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the
 Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their
 own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the
 Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

197 Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
 795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek
 Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward
 the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon,
 Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the
 Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic,
 maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth
 century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

● 198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
 177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant
 in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical
 layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic
 languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology
 of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical
 terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main
 Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints.
 Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic
 influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

for the Baltic languages, Albanian, Greek, Rumanian, Yiddish (in the syntax of the latter two, as well), for Gipsy in Slavic environment, for most of the Uralic, Altaic, and Paleosiberian languages, and for Aleut and Alaska Eskimo.

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Systems of Writing. In order to symbolize the sovereignty of the Slavic language, St. Cyril invented a quite distinct alphabet, adapting and modifying certain Greek, Samaritan, perhaps Coptic, and other Oriental letters. This alphabet, called GLAGOLITIC, was used in Great Moravia, and then in Bohemia and Croatia, Macedonia, and partly in Bulgaria. In the latter country it met strong competition from the so-called CYRILLIC alphabet which had been created there at the beginning of the tenth century to bring Slavic writing closer to the Greek—both Slavic alphabets occur in the fragmentary inscriptions of Preslava from the early tenth century. Cyrillic won out in all of the Greek Orthodox Slavic countries and is still used there in the Church, while for lay purposes it was refashioned under Peter the Great and the shape of the letters brought closer to the Latin: this modification spread from Russia to all Slavs of the Eastern rite. Since the twelfth century the Glagolitic alphabet has been limited to Croatia, except for isolated attempts of single Czech and Polish monasteries to borrow this Croatian habit in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth century it began to disappear from secular Croatian writings and the area of its Church usage has become more and more limited, but after the Second World War spadework has been undertaken among Slavic Benedictines for a new extension of the Slavonic liturgy. With these exceptions all the Catholic Slavs now use the Latin alphabet. The fourteenth century Czech system of expressing those phonemes which have no graphic symbols in the Latin alphabet by various digraphs is still the basis for Polish spelling, whereas the Czechs have introduced the diacritic system, first tried by Jan Hus under the influence of the Glagolitic alphabet. This kind of spelling is now general for all Slavs of Western denominations with the exception of Poles and Kashubs.

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SAMPLES

- 198 Since the Gospel has been universally translated, a sample may be selected from it in the various Slavic languages. We choose the colloquial sentence from St. Luke 10.35 (using and completing Nahtigal's quotations in his *Slovanski jeziki* and applying the American scholarly transliteration for the non-Latin alphabets): 'Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.'
- Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian recension): *prileži emъ. i eže ašte priiždiveši. azъ egda vъzvraštъ sę vъzdamъ ti.*
- Modern Greek Orthodox (Cyrillic) Church Slavonic: *prileži jemu: i, ježe ašče priiždiveši, az, jegda vozvraščusja, vzdam ti.*
- Modern Roman Catholic (Glagolitic) Church Slavonic: *Prileži jemu, i ježe ašče priiždiveši, az jegda vazvraču se, vzdam ti.*
- Russian: *pozabot'sja o nēm; i esli izderžiš čto bolee, ja vernuvšis' (or kogda vozvraščus'), otдам тебе.*
- Ukrainian: *Dohljadaj joho, i ščo nad se vydasy, ja, vernuvšys', oddam tobi.*
- Byelo-Russian: *dahljadaj jaho i, kali vydaš što balej, ja, vjarnuwšysja, addam tabe.*
- Polish: *Miej o nim staranie, a cokolwiek nad to wynalozysz, ja, gdy się wrócę, oddam ci.*
- Kashubian: *Mnjej ůo njim stóranji, a cokolwjek nad to wędósz, jô, cieję sę wrócę, ůoddôm cé.*
- Low Sorbian: *Zastaraj jogo, a cožkuli wěcej naložyš, zapłašim tebje, gaž se vrošim.*
- High Sorbian: *Zastaraj jeho, a štožkuli wjacy wuložiš, zaplaću tebi, hdyž so wróću.*
- Czech: *Měj o něj péči, a cožkoli nad to vynaložíš, já když se vrátím, zaplatím tobě.*
- Slovak: *Maj na neho starosť, a čo by si nad to viacej vynaložil, ja ti, keď zase príjdem, zaplatím.*
- Slovenian: *Poskrbi zanj, in kar boš več potrošil, ti jaz nazaj gredé povrnem.*
- Serbocroatian: *Gledaj ga, i što više potrošiš ja ću ti platiti kad se vratim.*

Macedonian: Zagriži se za nego, i što ke izarčiš ke ti platam koga
ke se vratam.

Bulgarian: Pogriži se za nego; i kakvoto poveče izdiviš, na vraštane
az šte ti zaplatja.

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COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

THE CHARACTERISTIC tendencies of Slavic evolution before the
dissolution of unity are: (A) the complete abolition of aspiration
(a loss common to all those Indo-European branches which did not
set up a new *h* phoneme), and the persevering clear-cut opposition
of voicing and voicelessness; (B) the consistent opposition of front
and back vowels and accordingly that of 'soft' and 'hard' syllables,
achieved by all kinds of mutual adaptation between vowels and
adjacent consonants; (C) the recasting of prothetic semivowels (at
the beginning of the word certain vowels require either the presence
or the avoidance of an initial *v*, while other vowels that of an initial
j); (D) the change of the short *u* and *i* into reduced vowels ('jers,'
according to their Church Slavonic spelling name), the back *ъ*
and the front *ь*; (E) the gradual elimination of closed syllables:
loss of final consonants, simplification of consonantal clusters,
reshaping of all diphthongs ending in *u* and *i* (*ou* > *û*; *ei* > *i*;
oi > *ê*, but in final position *oi* is represented either by *ê* or by *i*,
going back to a difference in quantity), suppression of tautosyllabic
groups 'vowel (dialectally only the non-reduced one) plus liquid or
nasal': in initial position the group *ôr** > *ra*; *ôr* > *ra* only in the
South Slavic area and Central Slovak, and > *ro* elsewhere; between
consonants the groups *ôr* and *ôr* (1) changed into *ra* in the South
Slavic and Czechoslovak area (with a parallel mutation of *ər* into *r*),
(2) dissolved into a disyllabic sequence—Polish-Sorbian *torot*
(with a metathesis) and East Slavic *torot* (without a metathesis),
(3) merged with *ər* in North-Lekhitic; in those Slavic dialects
where the groups *on*, *en* preserved the nasal, they were changed into
ɔn, *ɔn*; (F) substitution of qualitative for old quantitative dis-
tinctions and development of new quantitative vocalic oppositions;

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* *r* in these formulas stands for any liquid, *o* for any open non-reduced vowel,
ɹ for any reduced vowel, *t* for any consonant.